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ABSTRACT

This article updates the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. Research results for the third year of the program (1973-74) are summarized, and research in progress during the 1974-75 year is discussed. The article closes with a discussion of a series of research issues for investigation, issues in many ways prompted by already completed research. Appended to this brief article is a transcript of a symposium on the Culver City program held at the 1975 TESOL convention in Los Angeles. The transcript contains an historical overview, a statement of theoretical assumptions about second language learning by young children, and statements by the three teachers involved, the principal, and a parent, as well as three researchers. (Author/CLK)

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PROGRESS REPORT ON THE CULVER CITY SPANISH IMMERSION PROGRAM: THE THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS*

Andrew D. Cohen

This article is intended as an update on the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. Appended to this brief article is a transcript of a symposium on the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program, held at the 1975 TESOL Convention in Los Angeles. The transcript contains an historical overview and a statement of theoretical assumptions about second language learning by young children by Russell Campbell, statements by the three teachers involved, by the principal, by a parent, as well as by three researchers. This article is generally intended to complement the symposium presentation.

First, the purpose of this paper is to summarize research results on the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program (hereafter, SIP) for the 1973-74 school year, the third year of the program; second, to briefly mention research in progress during the 1974-75 year; and third, to raise some research issues, many of which are of prime concern in Culver City, and by extension, in other immersion programs as well.

A. The 1973-74 School Year: Research Results

During the 1973-74 school year, SIP consisted of K, 1, and 2. The SIP second-grade class was comprised of 12 Anglo students from the original Pilot group which had been immersed entirely in a Spanish kindergarten in the fall of 1971. There were also 9 native Spanish-speaking students, 6 of whom joined the program in grade 1 and 3 in grade 2. These Anglos and Latin Americans received only English reading itself through the medium of English. The remainder of the curriculum was taught entirely in Spanish. The first grade class consisted of 19 Anglos and one native Spanish-speaker. These students received all their instruction in Spanish. There was also a new kindergarten class, but following the Canadian research model (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), this group was not tested.

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Similar questions to those posed for the 1972-73 year (see Cohen, 1974a) were again posed, and Susan Lebach provides answers for them in the TESOL Symposium (see Appendix) and in her M.A. thesis at UCLA (Lebach, 1974):

1. Are the students suffering a deficit in speaking and reading English? The Pilot students at the second-grade level showed no retardation in English language skills, either in speaking (using the Bilingual Syntax Measure; Burt, Dulay, & Hernández, 1973) or in reading (using the Inter-American Test of Reading). The SIP first graders were behind their monolingual peers, though not at a level of statistical significance. This lag was expected since they had had no formal instruction in English reading. The French immersion experience in Canada (e.g., Lambert and Tucker, 1972) also reflected initial lag in English reading in grade 1.

*I wish to thank Russell Campbell for his helpful suggestions in preparing this paper.

2. How are the students progressing in speaking and reading Spanish? Neither the Pilot nor the Follow-Up students were reading at the same level as native Spanish-speaking peers in Quito, Ecuador, but their reading proficiency compared quite satisfactorily with native Spanish-speaking students in California (at the 90th percentile), according to data available from Guidance Testing Associates, publishers of the Spanish reading test used (Prueba de Lectura). The Pilot students also performed slightly better in Spanish reading than native Spanish speakers in the program, although the difference didn't reach the level of statistical significance.

3. Are the students achieving at grade level in a non-language subject matter, i.e., mathematics? The Pilot group scored significantly better than their English comparison group (on the Cooperative Primary Test of Mathematics), while the Follow-Up group performed as well as the comparison group.

4. What are the attitudes of participating students, teachers, and parents toward the Spanish Immersion Program? The students had developed positive attitudes toward the Spanish language and culture and toward foreign language learning in general. Both the SIP teachers and parents strongly supported the program and advocated its continuation. (For more on attitudes, see Lebach, 1974, Ch. III; Cohen & Lebach, 1974).

Patricia Boyd also studied children in SIP during 1973-74, focusing exclusively on the 12 Anglo Pilot children in second grade. She investigated the hypothesis that second language learning in children is similar to first language learning. Two Spanish morphology tests, the Bilingual Syntax Measure, an Oral Storytelling Measure, a Repetition task, and a reflexive Elicitation task were used to elicit speech. Spontaneous speech was also recorded, and five hours of teacher language in the classroom were taped. A detailed error analysis was performed on the elicited natural speech data.

Results indicated that subject-verb number and person agreement, adjective-noun gender and article-noun gender were tenacious morphological problems. Object pronoun omission and misuse, and the expression of tense were other problem areas. The low frequency of object pronouns and tenses other than present in the teacher input data was suggested as a reason for the children's problems in those areas. Overall, the study found a number of similarities between first and second language development data, but also found a number of interesting differences (see Boyd, 1974; Boyd, forthcoming).

B. Research in Progress During 1974-75

A substantial part of the evaluation for the 1974-75 year is being conducted by the SIP school principal for the program's first three years, Vera Jashni. Currently she is principal at a neighboring school. She is testing the Pilot group, now grade 3, and the three follow-up groups, grades K-2. Her design includes assessment of English and Spanish reading and reading readiness (at the K level), math, science, social studies, intellectual development, self concept, and cultural attitudes, utilizing a local English-speaking com-

parison group and a Spanish-speaking comparison group from Tijuana, Mexico. (For more details, see TESOL symposium presentation in the Appendix.)

Ellyn Waldman, an M.A. student at UCLA, is doing a study comparing cross-cultural attitudes of Anglos in SIP to Anglos in three other school environments: (1) Anglos in a bilingual education program with Spanish speakers, (2) Anglos in a conventional school classroom which has Spanish speakers in it, and (3) Anglos in a school without Spanish-speaking students. She will be using the Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory (Jackson & Klinger, 1971) and a form of matched-guise technique, whereby the students are to rate tapes of various speakers on a series of polar adjectives (e.g., friendly-mean, smart-dumb, rich-poor, etc.) according to how the students react to the varieties of Spanish and English that the speakers use. The former instrument is intended to measure feelings about Mexican American and Anglo culture, while the latter is aimed at tapping gut reactions, however stereotypic, toward the speakers of certain language varieties.

Finally, Andrew Cohen is carrying on the research concerning Spanish second-language acquisition, administering the Bilingual Syntax Measure as a test of oral production to the Pilot in grade 3 and as a test of written composition to the Follow-Up I group in grade 2. Cohen has also been determining the loss of Spanish over recess between grades, when the students are primarily removed from language contact (Cohen, 1974b; Cohen, 1975a).

C. Research Issues for Investigation

Recently there has been more of an effort to identify the ingredients present in so-called "successful" immersion education programs (see Cohen, 1975c; Cohen & Laosa, 1975; Swain, 1975). While this effort is producing some insights for program design, there remain a number of questions that need further investigation, at least in the Culver City context. The following is a listing of some of these:

1. Interaction between Anglo and native Spanish-speaking children, and teachers:

   a. Is there a pecking order of social interaction among the students? Are there "integrated" and/or ethnic cliques? Who speaks what language to whom, when, and for what purpose? (E.g., do students tend to speak English to each other and Spanish to teachers, and in earshot of teachers?)
   b. Do the Anglo children use different communication styles or registers when speaking Spanish to teachers, to Spanish-speaking peers, to Anglo peers? Are the Culver City students exposed to sufficient variety in social situations to make real register shifts probable? Can we even distinguish Anglo talk with peers from talk with adults in Spanish?
   c. What happens to the Spanish of native speakers in the program? Are their Spanish pronunciation and grammar adversely affected by imperfect, but prestigious, Anglo models?
   d. Does the Anglo student use the Spanish speaker as a model of Spanish? How much does the Spanish speaker correct the Spanish of Anglos? How often does the Anglo correct the Spanish of the native Spanish speaker?

2. Second Language Development:
   a. Do the Anglos reach a fossilized plateau in their Spanish development--a form of pidgin--after which their Spanish levels off, regresses to earlier forms, or simply deteriorates (e.g., exaggerated American accent in Spanish--on purpose, whereas there never was one before)?
   b. What are the learners' second language acquisition strategies over time? If and when correct, incorrect, variable use of rules for surface structure morphology, semantics, and phonetics are identified, what criteria would be used to say that they are "fossilized"? Should teachers introduce formal, if limited, drills or other forms of language instruction aimed at eradicating fossilized forms and developmental forms? At what grade level? What will be the effects of different approaches to remediation?
   c. How could we characterize the Spanish language development of Anglos who start SIP later on (e.g., end of first grade, second grade, etc.)?
   d. What progress do the Spanish speakers in the program make in their English?

3. Attitudes:
   a. What are the attitudes of non-project teachers to the program?
   b. How do non-SIP kids feel toward SIP kids (when they interact on the playground, SIP kids perform in Spanish at assemblies, etc.)?
   c. How do SIP children feel toward non-SIP children at school?
   d. What attitudes do the parents of the native Spanish-speaking children in SIP have toward their children's participation in the program?

4. Miscellaneous:
   a. How do various student characteristics influence outcomes--e.g., initial shyness in kindergarten, sex, socioeconomic status of family, etc.?
   b. Are there any special teacher characteristics desirable or necessary for SIP?
   c. Is the school system ready to take Spanish-speaking Anglos after elementary school?
   d. What is the cultural component in SIP--i.e., what do students really know about the other culture(s)?
   e. Does a special program like SIP produce "special" discipline problems?
   f. What exposures do SIP children have to English reading in the home before they begin formal English reading at school in second grade? What effects does this have on the results that we're getting?
   g. Can carefully-controlled English immersion--as distinguished from the conventional form of submersion--work for the minority child in the U.S?

Clearly there are many more questions that could be asked and for which answers should really be provided before too much of an effort is made to initiate such a program elsewhere in the United States. Perhaps a reservation that could be made about U.S. federal bilingual programs, for example, is that certain teaching methodologies have been advocated and implemented without a sufficient research base to attest to their linguistic and cross-cultural effectiveness. Cohen and Laosa (1975) would caution that project results are a product of the educational treatments utilized, the characteristics of the

students, the contexts in which the program takes place, the research design employed, and subtle interactions among all the factors. Probably there is no end to the number of, say, treatment variables that could be investigated, particularly as concerns the method. All the same, this discussion of what has and has not been researched in Culver City might suggest possible positive and negative implications of immersion education. Thus, it might be that such programs should only be utilized with certain students in certain school contexts.

As can be seen from the enthusiastic presentations at the TESOL Symposium (see the Appendix), the idea of Spanish immersion education for Anglos has really caught on in Culver City. The teachers, parents, and principals involved have all demonstrated genuine commitment. In fact, the current principal of the SIP school, Eugene Ziff, has his own daughter in the program. This strong sense of commitment would not have been generated over these four years had there not been a genuine feeling of accomplishment, of success. It will remain for researchers watching the program closely to speak to the rigorously-assessed effects of long-term participation by U.S. majority group children in immersion education.

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Appendix

Bilingual Education for the Majority Child:
Symposium on Immersion Education in a Second Language
9th Annual TESOL Convention, Los Angeles, March 4-9, 1975
(Transcript of oral presentation with slight modification)

Russell N. Campbell, Professor & Chairman, ESL Section, UCLA:
"Theoretical Bases for the Culver City Immersion Program"

I'll be talking about the theoretical bases for the Culver City Spanish Immersion Program. I will begin my remarks with an historical overview of how we got involved in immersion education, and will end by stating the assumptions of such an approach to second language learning.

In March of 1971, representatives of the TESL Department at UCLA and administrators, teachers, and parents in Culver City got together to talk about the desirability, feasibility, and possibility of an immersion program in Culver City that would, for all practical purposes, be a replication of the St. Lambert Project so ably conducted by Wally Lambert, Dick Tucker, and their graduate students at the University of McGill. After much discussion and review of the literature on that project--what the research results and consequences of that kind of program had been--we all agreed that it would be a very desirable thing to initiate in Culver City. In September of 1971 we did so.

After the program had started, we sent out questionnaires asking parents why they put their child in this program. We got a lot of interesting answers. Most of them would fall into a category called "integrative" by Lambert and others. That is, most of the parents had some desire for their children to become bicultural and bilingual. They saw this opportunity as a real opportunity for their children to experience something different and original in education. The teachers, I believe, found the project as something exciting, interesting, and innovative, and an opportunity for some of them to use the very exceptional talents they had as bilingual-bicultural people, talents which in their normal teaching, perhaps, wouldn't have been utilized at all. The school administrators saw it as a possibility to enrich the school experience for children in Culver City and were more than cooperative. They were excited about the whole thing and as a result we had parents, teachers, and administrators, all willing to participate in such a program.

At UCLA, several of us had been tremendously excited by what had happened in St. Lambert with the French immersion program and we wanted to see if we would get the same kind of results in a different locale, with a different language, where the languages played different roles in the community, etc. We were curious about the kinds of questions that Heidi Dulay and others have raised concerning the acquisition of language under rather natural circumstances. We wanted to have the opportunity to observe children acquiring language under those conditions. Several members of the TESL staff and a number of graduate students enlisted their energies and efforts to monitor, to pursue, to carry out research in the immersion program. So, with vested interests on both sides, we began in September 1971.

We put together four basic assumptions that we expected to be true about the children in the program. I'll just enumerate them and then we will listen to the other participants to see to what extent our assumptions were sound.

(1) We assume that all normal children are innately equipped to acquire a second language when the language is presented to them in natural, authentic communicative situations.

(2) We assume that all normal children can learn through a second language the skills and concepts that are typically taught in elementary schools if the instruction in the second language begins at the kindergarten level. (We're not quite sure what happens when children are started in immersion programs at the junior high school or the high school level. But given that they start at the kindergarten level and work up, we assume they'll have no difficulty acquiring the content of the scholastic program.)

(3) We assume, furthermore, that there will be no diminution or slowing down of the rate of maturation on the part of the child in his home language, in his first language. We assume nothing drastic or harmful will occur regarding his own language.

(4) Finally we assume that as a result of an experience like this, typically the child will hold attitudes toward the culture represented by the second language that are in no way significantly different from the attitudes he holds toward his own culture. Now four years later we'll see to what extent these assumptions have been borne out.

Irma Noriega Wright, Teacher, K-1: "Immersion Teaching Methodology"

My point of view is that of the kindergarten teacher--the first kindergarten teacher that was hired for the Spanish immersion program. I was interviewed by Russell Campbell and by the other people that were beginning the program. He was there the first day when I had the first kindergarten class. It's interesting to me even today that the question that everybody wonders about is, "What happens the first day in a Spanish-immersion kindergarten class? Is it very difficult for the child?" And the answer, as Russ Campbell found out that first day, is "Nothing really happens." When the child comes into the class the first day, he's too busy looking around and being quiet to be a normal child. So it's a very quiet, uneventful day.

The people who ask what happens the first day are really wondering whether the child has any problem in the Spanish immersion program--whether he can get along because he doesn't understand the person who is in charge, he doesn't understand what is going on, and is consequently going to be held behind. This is my fourth kindergarten class and I feel that there are a few things that you can say about the kindergarten child. And one of them is that he doesn't care what language you're speaking to him as long as you take care of certain basic needs. One of them is that you have a very comfortable environment--one that he really likes and that he can really relate to, one in which he can do the things that any other kindergarten child can do.

The first year we tried to have me, the teacher, not understand what the children wanted in English so that they had to pantomime or pull me. And we discovered that this was too frustrating for the child. So even during the first year, we decided that in order to reduce the frustration level we would have to understand the kindergarten child. So, if you walk into my kindergarten class, you may see the child ask me in English if he can go to the bathroom or if he can have some paper or something. I will repeat the same thing that he asked in Spanish. He'll say, "I want to go to the bathroom," and I'll say, "¿Quieres ir al baño?" So I do understand what he's saying.

The kindergarten year has become the comprehension year and we have found out that during the kindergarten year, the amount learned depends on the child. However, although a child might not know all the colors, he will understand everything that I say to him in a lesson. For example, in response to "¿De qué color es?" or "Es tiempo de ir afuera" ("It's time to go outside."), the child understands all instructions so that he knows what's expected of him. He can go get his mathematics book. He can sit down and he can say in English, "I don't know how to do this page," and I just tell him, "Marcas con 'x' el conjunto de tres. " I say everything in Spanish and the child understands what's expected of him.

That's the main thing that happens in the kindergarten year. Towards the end of the year, depending on the child and his ability, some can answer in one word, some of them can speak in phrases, and maybe several can speak in complete sentences, and even express thoughts in the second language. However, I do want to point out that the child understands everything that is going on around him or as much as you can make him understand. And you always expect that he is going to learn Spanish and you always expect that because he likes school and because he likes everything that is going on, he takes a very active interest in learning mathematics and in learning everything else that is going on in the classroom.

This year for the first time I have a combination kindergarten and first grade.

Susan Mathis, Teacher, 1-2: "Immersion Teaching Methodology"

In the Spanish Immersion Program I have a first and second grade combination, with twenty first graders and nine second graders. I came into the program in January of this year. It's very unique to me, and I'm thoroughly enjoying it. I think the best part about it is that I notice that there isn't a child in my class who cannot make his wishes known to me in Spanish, whether it was, "May I go to the bathroom?" or "I want a piece of paper," or "It's time for lunch."

I must tell you about one of my second grade boys who's been in the program less than a year, having started during the end of his first grade year. This child listens a great deal, is very alert, but is very quiet in the room. Outside, afuera, during P.E., he is very active and verbalizes all the time, in English, of course, because that is his native tongue. But in the classroom, when we're speaking only Spanish, and understanding only Spanish, he's very, very quiet.

However, I've noticed that he and a few others who entered the program late, who were not in the program in kindergarten, do verbalize in Spanish when they have their readers in front of them. This is very important. So during that reading hour, when we're reading Elena y Dani in Mira y Lee, the Spanish readers, the vocabulary is in front of them. They're not self-conscious, and I can take that time to really get them to talk. And they love it. And then I tell them, "Oh, you're speaking Spanish so beautifully," and they just beam from ear to ear.

But the other day, this particular second grade boy, who talks all the time outside, apparently was very hungry, hungry enough to talk, when I ran a little bit over the noon hour. He stood up and announced in a very loud voice, "Es la hora para almuerzo." And he never had said anything before, in the classroom. I thought, "This is beautiful." Of course, I didn't reprimand him for yelling.

Now, I want to share something with you since this is the month of March and of course, kite flying season. What a beautiful way to take that simple little kite and share a little bit of the Spanish language and culture with the children using this kite. We talk a little about kites as we pull down our map during geography time. The Puerto Ricans use the word chiringas for kite. In Spain it's cometas, in Mexico, papalotes, and in Argentina, barriletes. You might think, "Oh, how confusing," but it really isn't confusing because throughout the day I hear one child using cometas, another child papalotes, another barriletes. Especially when we explain cometas as "comet," "going up to the sky" or barriletes from Argentina. Maybe in Argentina they make barrel kites, I don't know.

We have a few children in our program, in my room particularly, who come from Spanish-speaking homes and are fluent in Spanish. It's beautiful that these children are not put down, that they feel secure. They do not sit back or take the back seat in the classroom because they are forced to speak English. These children do sometimes come to us a year older because they may have been held back in the belief that they were slow learners--not too bright. But these children shine in a program like this, even though when they come to us they usually cannot read in Spanish; and they don't know why they conjugate the way they do, why they use the tú form constantly (which is what we want them to use). Because of their fluency in Spanish, they are of help to all the other children. And we must remember that we're reinforcing their native tongue. And isn't this what we've been doing for years with our native language, English?

The last hour of the day, that last magical hour, from two to three o'clock, the first graders go home and the second graders stay for their first formal experience with English reading in school. I must tell you that 90% of these second grade children are reading in the Harper-Row English reading series at grade level or better.

Carmen Jarel, Teacher, 2-3: "Immersion Teaching Methodology"

By the time the children get to me, I definitely do not understand their English, although they do know that I speak English. I find during English time that the phonetic decoding skills they have acquired in Spanish which is very simple in the first place

have transferred to English, and they are reading beautifully in the English textbooks with very little English instruction as such. Of course, there is English instruction but not the demanding English instruction that you would find in a regular English-speaking classroom.

When visitors come to our room, I will not speak in English to anyone, be it the principal or the President of the United States. I will use the children to translate for me. I remember once after I had asked a child to translate into English for a visitor, the child thought a while, turned right around, and paraphrased everything that I had said into simpler terms in Spanish, thinking that maybe this way the person involved would be able to understand.

I have seven native-Spanish-speaking children in my classroom. This way the children not only have me as a model but they have a peer model which is very good for them. I also find that mistakes similar to those made by native-English-speaking students are also made by the Spanish-speaking students. Anglos will try to apply regular verb endings to an irregular verb. This is something that native-Spanish-speaking children do as well. This is very nice to see, especially when the Anglo will turn around and try to correct the Spanish-speaking child; this in turn will permit the native Spanish-speaking child the liberty of helping the native English speaker during the English reading hour.

If I hear the children speaking English in the classroom, I will say, "Ah, ¿ quién habla allí en inglés?" And of course, everyone will say, "I didn't, I wasn't, it was somebody else." Spanish is a very emotional language. If they get into a fight outside in the playground, they will fight in Spanish. Spanish is more emotional. It's more fun.

The children are writing in Spanish beautifully. They're using several different tenses of a verb in the same sentence. They're using the subjunctive, which is a very difficult thing for someone to learn how to use, and the children are actually using it--in writing and in speaking, but mostly in the written word. I guess we do write better than we actually speak, and the same thing will apply to these children. They will write beautifully. I have poems that the children have written that I'm so proud of, I carry them with me.

In a funded program, one of the questions that is usually asked is "What provisions have you made for the cultural and social aspects of the native Spanish-speaking and the Anglo children?" Well, we are not funded, so no one ever said anything to us about that. In a Spanish-speaking home, a little girl child will never be allowed to spend the night at someone else's house. This is a "no-no." It's not done. Well, little Martha, a very lovely little girl, had been invited to one of the little Anglo children's homes for a slumber party, and using the children themselves as translators, Martha was able to go to Carol's house for a slumber party. A month later Martha, whose parents speak no English at all, gave a slumber party for her birthday and the little Anglo girls went to her house for the slumber party. When I heard this, the hair on my arms stood up, how lovely, how neat. And no big thing was ever made of it. Social and cultural exchanges like this one are occurring among the children as well as among their parents and although the parents are not conversant in each other's language, this language barrier has been broken down by the children.

Eugene Ziff, Principal, El Marino School: "The Immersion Program in Education"

I'm new at the program this year. Sue Mathis started in January. I started in September. Now, we've got one of the people here at the podium who actually worked with Russ Campbell and Andy Cohen at the start, and that's Vera Jashni, who was principal for three years.

When I saw this title, "The Spanish Immersion Program in Education," I figured that that's a good title for this whole thing. Now, what is my role as an administrator? The heart of the program is the teachers. Believe me. As I view this program from a district perspective, from an educator's perspective, as a principal working with students, teachers, and parents, it is successful and it's because of these people. Now, as an administrator, I think one of my roles is to maintain balance, to look over a situation and take appropriate action.

I'm going to talk about what I see on a district-wide level. First of all, Culver City, where is it? What kind of community is it? How many schools? And so on. Culver City is a unified school district in the west part of Los Angeles, approximately 69% Anglo, 18% Latin surname, 8% Oriental, and 5% Black. We have 7,000 students, about half of them elementary. We have eight elementary schools.

The Spanish Immersion Program started four years ago at Linwood E. Howe School with five-year-olds, and we had to go through an orientation process because parents were not aware of what this program was, what the objectives were, even though we passed out to each parent an enrollment form in Spanish and in English. They could sign their youngsters up for a regular kindergarten class or for the special class. As time has gone on, the value of the program, the success of the program, has become known and at this time we have three classes with four grades. The program is geared to move up one class a year. Next year we hope to have another class of kindergarteners and go up into the fourth grade. We have currently this year a waiting list of 25 youngsters, and since the beginning of the year we only had three youngsters drop and this was because they moved out of the community. We added children from our waiting list. We're getting more and more requests from parents: "Hey, can we get our kids in the program? My youngster's in the second or third grade." We're going through the same enrollment process again this year, and once again we anticipate a waiting list.

One other major change that has taken place: When the program started at the Howe School, most of the youngsters came from Linwood E. Howe School and they lived in that community. Any parent who wanted their youngster in the program from another school was eligible, but the parent had to furnish the transportation. This year the school district has provided transportation and we're getting requests from many other schools in the district.

Funding. There are no special state or federal funds in Culver City. It has been a real rough road for this program in many areas. And without the support of the parent group, it would have been very, very difficult. Next year we're putting in a special request for at least $3,000 to obtain additional Spanish textbooks from the district because as you go up, you have to pay $4,

$5, or $6 for a textbook that you can't pick up out of a book room. It gets a little bit difficult.

So I'd say it's a successful program primarily because of the teachers and their commitment, the interest and support of the parents, and the help we've gotten from UCLA.

Carol Bardin, Parent: "Parent Reactions to the Program"

Well, I'm a parent of two guinea pigs in the Spanish Immersion Program. I have Tony who is eight, who is in the second grade. I consider him a bilingual child. And I have Andrea who is in the kindergarten, so she's been in the program for a half a year. And she is speaking with half English and half Spanish much of the time. Even at home, to me who does not understand Spanish, she still will come with words--Spanish words--and she loves to play with the language. And if she has a friend over that's in the program, they play house and they use as much as they can. And if they can't use the proper Spanish word, they'll improvise. It's a lot of fun and they really enjoy it.

As you can tell, I feel very fortunate to have my children in this program. When I try to learn Spanish, my son is very critical of me. He corrects me all the time and laughs at me when I try to read to him in Spanish because I am not pronouncing the words right. I hope that I can also pick up the language.

I think there's something unique about my experience. I was not sold on the idea of the program when I first entered my son in kindergarten. In fact, he went into the regular kindergarten class, and after about three weeks of school, after playing on the playground with the children in the Spanish Program, he came home and said that he would like to also have a chance to learn Spanish like some of his friends. And, you know, when they're in kindergarten, you really don't pay very much attention. Well, after two weeks of every day, "When am I going into the Spanish class?" I didn't feel I could ignore it. So my husband and I observed the classroom and I still was amazed that these children were not frustrated and could understand instructions. (I still find this amazing, even three years later.) We talked to the principal, and after much concern, we still put him in the program. So he was in the program six weeks late, and he still did beautifully. I have no fears now. I'm totally convinced that this is the way for a child to learn a second language, and I'm thrilled.

I think one of the biggest fears a parent has in putting their child into this program is the fear that they won't learn English--that they won't learn to read. How can they possibly accumulate the same skills and be as good in them? But the tests show that the child does pick everything up beautifully. And my son is now reading in English and in Spanish, when his other friends can only read in English. So he's got something over them.

I think the key success to the program is the combination of parents, teachers, and a good administrator. In the beginning when there were no materials, the classroom just looked bare. There was nothing but what we made. We were able to get a few books from our budget. But we couldn't use any of

the State books because they didn't have them in Spanish for us. And because of this need, the parents became very involved and banded together to make books. The first year, which I was not involved in, they actually bound books. They went to a class to learn how to bind books and they bound books so that the kids would have readers--Spanish readers. And we have duplicated materials. We've done everything we can. We've made games, we have workshops. What's so beautiful, too, is because there are Spanish-speaking children in the program, of course their parents are Spanish speakers with very little English, but this has brought us together. We've had workshops where we all get together, and we use our little bit of Spanish to them and they use their little bit of English back at us. But because we have one common bond, which is our children, we get along beautifully. And I think this is something that would never have happened otherwise because you are just too shy.

What is very important to keep the program going, too, is orientation so that the parent understands the goals and objectives of the programs. We have regular meetings during the year with the parents, teachers, and administrators in order to share any fears we have, any problems, or examples of how our kids are doing. You find out that everything you are going through, every other parent has gone through as well. And this really makes you feel good--that you know that you're not alone.

Last year, we also had a fiesta to celebrate the success of the program. Many parents participated, including those that don't understand English. We had entertainment. One of the parents had a band and played. There was a pot-luck dinner so everyone brought food. We had a very good turn out of the Spanish speakers, which is very unusual because they don't go out of the home in the evening without their children that often and yet they came. And they stayed 'til the very end. And we had a piñata and we had sangría and we had a beautiful time.

If there's any doubt as to why Spanish as the second language instead of another language, my feeling is: job opportunities. We're so close to the border there's just no other thought as to what language I would want my child to know if there was only a choice of one.

Susan Lebach, M.A. Graduate, UCLA, and Instructor, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.: "Third Year Evaluation"

When I was getting my M.A. at UCLA in 1973-74, I did research at Culver City with the Spanish Immersion Program in its third year. I had four major research questions that I was concerned with and they were:

1. Are the students suffering a deficit in English oral or reading skills?
2. How are the students progressing in Spanish oral and reading skills?
3. Are the students achieving at grade level in a non-language subject matter which is taught to them in Spanish? This was math I was concerned with.
4. What are the attitudes of the participating students, teachers, and parents?

I'll briefly summarize these results. As far as the English reading and oral skills were concerned, I examined the first graders and the second graders. The first graders did show an initial lag in English reading although it wasn't statistically significant. This initial lag was also evident in the other immersion programs in Canada, so we weren't surprised by it. By second grade, they were reading at a level equivalent with children in a regular monolingual class. With respect to their oral skills in English, we administered the Bilingual Syntax Measure. They scored at the highest level in that test.

As far as their Spanish oral and reading skills, their Spanish oral ability was amazing. Seven were in the fifth level, the highest on the Bilingual Syntax Measure, and five were in the fourth level, the second highest. In reading, whereas neither the first nor second graders scored at a level equivalent to that of native Spanish speakers in Quito, Ecuador, they did score favorably in comparison to Mexican American students in Los Angeles.

In math, at the first grade level, the scores were at the same level as the comparison monolingual group and by second grade they were scoring significantly higher. It was amazing because the test was administered orally in English. They'd had all their mathematical instruction in Spanish so they were transferring the terms to English.

And what to me was the most interesting part were the attitudes of the participating students, parents, and teachers. You've gotten the attitudes of parents and teachers already so I'll talk to you about the students.

I interviewed all the students in the second grade class. I had very informal discussions with each of them and taped them. And it was a great experience to do it. I'd recommend it to anybody.

I'll just mention a few of the questions I asked the students. One of them was whether they had problems understanding Spanish. And only three admitted that they did. One of them said he thought to himself the first day of school, "How am I gonna learn that? Just for a day, when they called my name, I thought they said, 'He's stupid.'" His name was Steven, Esteban in Spanish. Another one who had insisted he had no problems in Spanish, when he got home and his parents asked him the name of his teacher, he said, "Snow White." Her name was Señora Wright. As far as speaking Spanish, the children didn't show any preference for speaking either Spanish or English and as one student put it, "I speak both languages good."

Could students read more easily in Spanish or English? 10 out of 12 said they could read Spanish more easily. And as they said, "In English you can't sound 'em out," (meaning the words) "but in Spanish you know just everything." Could the children write more easily in Spanish or English? 50% said that Spanish was easier because the words could be sounded out. They were easier to spell. They did say they had a few vocabulary problems, but nothing major.

What percentage of class time was spent speaking Spanish? The kids admitted that although they were supposed to speak Spanish all the time, every once and a while they got carried away and spoke in English. During

recess they can speak in English, but one girl, Joanna, said to me, "Sometimes during recess it pops right at me in Spanish." She was very upset by this. I did an observation of their language use, and I find that during Spanish language arts, 61% of the time they spoke Spanish and during English language arts, 45% of the time they still spoke Spanish. Even though it was this one hour where they could speak English, a lot of them were still speaking Spanish.

I'll do one last question, their feelings toward getting instruction in Spanish. They all loved it, and most of them wanted to go on to a new language. They wanted to continue their studying in another language. We talk about integrative and instrumental reasons for learning another language and I think one second grader had the best reason. He said, "So my sister can't understand me."

Vera Jashni, Principal for First 3 Years of Immersion Program, currently Principal at the Betsy Ross School: "Fourth Year Evaluation"

As you can see, those who are involved in the program have become very enthusiastic. It just seems to radiate. I think each one of us could take a little group and speak to no end about the program. In case you're wondering why I'm no longer with the program, it's because in Culver City, they decided to shift all the principals--give them a new school this next year. The Spanish Immersion Program, in order to have more room to expand, went to El Marino School, and I went to the Betsy Ross School. We parted only in a physical and not really in a spiritual sense at all. I'm still involved in the program as an evaluator and I'm doing an extensive evaluation of the program. I have extreme positive thoughts about the program, so I'm still quite involved although I'm across the city from it.

I'd like to share with you one incident one of the parents shared with me last year about that first day in kindergarten. This parent was really quite concerned when the first day of school came. She had the butterflies. "What is her son going to do when he opens that door and this Señora Wright is talking Spanish at him?" So she opened the door and Señora Wright greeted the little boy and told him in Spanish to take his jacket off, hang it up, and go and join the group. The little boy literally did this. The mother looked with her mouth open. She said, "I walked out, and decided he didn't have any problems. I had them."

In the evaluation that I'm doing this year, I'm taking a look at the objectives to see how their progress in English has continued, to assess the progress they are making in Spanish, to see if they maintain a positive self-concept, and determine if they have positive attitudes toward the Spanish culture and toward the American Culture. In order to do this, I have a control group also at the same school, where the environment is very much the same: same teacher and school organization, where the children are getting more similar instruction, and more similar types of experiences than if I were to use another school in Culver City as a control group.

We're taking a look at all kindergarten, first, second, and third grade children that are involved in the program and in the English control group at the equivalent grade levels. All the children are receiving a Kuhlman-Andersonn Intelligence Test just so we can equate what the differences are, what the

similarities will be and so that they can't say, "Well, all the gifted children are in the program and not in the control group." Both groups will also be getting an achievement test. For the kindergarten and first grades, we're using the Stanford Early Achievement Test. This is one test that you can give kindergarten children that are entering kindergarten. Most of the achievement tests can only be administered to children after they've been in kindergarten. This one takes a look at their environment--things that they have learned before they came to school and that can be measured: e.g., social science, science, and math concepts, as well as letters, sounds, and oral comprehension of language. In first grade, we use the second level of the same test. We will be measuring again the same types of things but this time we will add word reading and sentence reading. Now, remember that these tests are in English. These children have not had formal instruction in English. So I'm really amazed as I'm scoring these things to see just what it is that they're grasping just from their environment.

The second graders take the Stanford Achievement Test in which we're looking again at reading, word study skills, math concepts, math computation, math application, and listening comprehension. At third grade, the test is the same, with the addition of spelling, social science, and science. So you see we're taking a look at not just reading and math, but quite a range of academic concepts.

Also, grades 1, 2, and 3 are getting a general ability test in Spanish and a Spanish reading comprehension test. The English control group will not be getting the Spanish tests, obviously. I am hoping to get a group in Tijuana at a primary school that we can use as a control group to see how they compare in Spanish reading to the English speakers in the Immersion Program.

The Immersion and the control groups at the El Marino School will both be getting the Cross-Cultural Attitude Inventory to take a look at attitudes toward the Spanish culture and toward the American culture. Both groups will also be getting a self-concept test. Just what is their attitude toward themselves and toward school? This test will be given in April to see if there is any significant difference between the children in the English control group and those that are in the Spanish Immersion group.

Andrew Cohen, Assistant Professor, UCLA, and Research Liaison to the Immersion Program: "Language Learning in the Immersion Program."

I'm responsible for this rat race. I really wanted you to get exposure to a lot of different people from the different backgrounds and not just have one person talking. So I apologize in a sense but I think it's exciting for you.

Let me just finish up by saying that for three years I evaluated a Title VII project in Northern California--in Redwood City--that was two-thirds Mexican American who were dominant or monolingual Spanish speakers when they went into the program. Let me reflect just briefly on those Anglos in that program. Even after several years in the bilingual program, they were not fluent in Spanish. In fact, their Spanish was still so negligible that a doctoral student trying to write a thesis on their Spanish, gave it up in despair. And I don't think this is uncommon. In fact, I think that in a lot

of our bilingual education programs the Anglos who tagged along for the ride and who have never really been forced to use that language, in fact, don't. They opt out. And this is something that is definitely not happening here, which gives us interested in research an opportunity to see what in fact these children are learning in a natural environment. There are no second language drills as the teachers pointed out. They are not getting Spanish as a second language. It's just coming naturally.

So we're studying them. Perhaps we'll get some insights into the language learning process that we can pass on to curriculum writers--something about sequencing, something about difficulty of structures. I have a few points about this and I wanted to come back to what Carmen Jarel said about how it's true that the native speakers in her class will regularize irregular forms--the native speakers of Spanish. This, in fact, I found up in Redwood City and I've documented it pretty extensively in Chapter 8 of a book I have coming out with Newbury House, A Sociolinguistic Approach to Bilingual Education, which was that study in Redwood City. And in fact, these errors are occurring in the case of these second language learners. So there are a lot of similarities.

I don't have any time here to go into detail about what has been found but this past year, one of our Master's students, Patricia Boyd, did a study of Spanish second-language acquisition, which I can proudly announce is being published in the TESOL Quarterly, probably quite soon. Briefly, she found that things like the plural, the present progressive, possessive markers, and periphrastic future, (voy a comer), are learned quite early on. Well, I won't say "learned." Let's say they seem to be mastered, or appear with great frequency. Things that take somewhat longer are, for example, the present tense indicative--for example, the persons of the present tense. You're going to see the videotape and you'll notice a child saying yo dice or yo sabe, things like this. They pay less attention to these kinds of inflectional markers. Inflected future would appear later on, along with certain object pronoun forms. They don't pay any attention to gender agreement. These are things they are not concerned about.

Pat Boyd, in that study, did pay attention to the language that the teachers were using, and there are some nice correlations between the forms that the teachers would use more frequently--input--and what the children intake and come back with as utterances--output. So, we're seeing some interesting things there.

Finally, let me just say that we're seeing a number of learning strategies. It's an exciting place to see a number of these learning strategies that people like Selinker, Richards, Dulay, Burt, and others have mentioned. We're seeing them all in action here. You're going to see several on the videotape. For example, you're going to see simplification. One child being interviewed by me says, "Mis padres quería . . ." O.K. quería. That's already a simplification. Instead of using the plural querían, he says quería. Then he continues " . . . .que yo," and then he needed the subjunctive for the verb "to go." And incidentally, some children have it down just beautifully. In this case, however, he says ir: "Mis padres quería que yo ir." Fine. That's a simplification that communicates. We know what he is saying: "My parents wanted me to go."

Free variation. You're going to hear some free variation--el, la; yo se, yo sabe.

Borrowing. In one case here you're going to hear a child say, "Es de yo pero Cindy está borrowing them." Now, "borrowing" is a very tough verb in Spanish, pedir prestado, so you can understand the use of "borrowing," but he brings it in so naturally.

Another thing that they'll do is that they will look to another child to supply the word. When one student is asked things about English, she replies "Los palabras son muy muy . . ." and gets hung up. Then another child supplies largas. So they will go to other children--not necessarily to the native speakers. These, then, are some of the strategies that they use.